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ABSTRACT

Using a measurement of self-concept, researchers explored the different attitudes, value systems, and beliefs of a group of Indian students and their teachers at the three elementary schools on the Red Lake Reservation, an area where schools have operated sporadically since 1843. Almost all of the participating students were members of the Red Lake Band of Chippewa (Ojibway) Indians, who traditionally have valued harmonious cooperation with man, nature, and the gods. Researchers administered the Piers-Harris Children's Self Concept Scale twice to 251 third, fourth, fifth, and sixth grade students and to 15 teachers. On the first test, students were asked to respond as if describing themselves; and teachers, as if describing an average student in their classroom. On the second test, students and teachers were asked to respond as would an "ideal" student. Students and teachers differed in their perceptions on three test clusters (appearance, intellectual, school status) and on the total scores. They also gave differing responses for an "ideal" student. Student self-ideal discrepancy scores were correlated to certain variables. Low self-esteem was significantly related to poor achievement, age, grade level, and percentage of Indian blood. (SB)

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PERCEPTIONS OF STUDENTS' SELF AND IDEAL SELF BY TEACHERS AND STUDENTS AT THE RED LAKE INDIAN RESERVATION

by
Janet Lee Sullivan

Bachelor of Science, St. Cloud State University, 1972

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the

University of North Dakota

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Arts

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Perceptions of Students' Self and Ideal Self by Teachers and Students at the Red Lake Indian Reservation

Janet Lee Sullivan, Master of Arts

The University of North Dakota, 1979

Faculty Advisor: Professor John Tyler

It has been suggested by many researchers that the value systems of Indian students are markedly different from those of their teachers. These differences may adversely affect the results of the educative process. However, there are also difficulties in attempting to understand the cultural differences which the Indian child brings to the classroom. These difficulties emerge from the fact that many standard psychological tests may be invalid for a minority population.

The purpose of the present study was to explore the differential attitudes, value systems and beliefs of Indian students and their teachers through self concept measurement. The Piers-Harris Children's Self Concept Scale (PHCSCS) was administered twice to 251 third through sixth grade Indian students attending Red Lake Reservation schools, and 15 teachers. Subjects were asked to indicate their perception of actual students, and of an "ideal student." Discrepancy scores were then computed between the two measures.

Hotelling's T^2 analysis revealed that students and teachers differed on their perceptions of the students' Appearance, Intellectual and School Status, and Total PHCSCS scores. The students and teachers also

gave different responses for an "ideal student" on the PHCSCS Popularity scale. Hotelling's T^2 analysis of self-ideal discrepancies revealed that the students reported fewer discrepancies than did the teachers.

Selected variables were correlated with the self-ideal discrepancy scores of the students. Sex was found to be insignificantly related to self-ideal discrepancy scores. Low self-esteem was significantly related to poor achievement, age, grade level, and percentage of Indian blood. There were also school and community differences which contributed to self-ideal discrepancy.

Implications of these findings, as well as suggestions for future research, are discussed.

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Title PERCEPTIONS OF STUDENTS' SELF AND IDEAL SELF BY TEACHERS AND STUDENTS AT THE RED LAKE INDIAN RESERVATION

Department Psychology

Degree Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

It has been suggested by many researchers that the value systems of Indian students are markedly different from those of their teachers. These differences may adversely affect the results of the educative process. However, there are also difficulties in attempting to understand the cultural differences which the Indian child brings to the classroom. These difficulties emerge from the fact that many standard psychological tests may be invalid for a minority population.

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to self-ideal discrepancy scores. Low self-esteem was significantly related to poor achievement, age, grade level, and percentage of Indian blood. There were also school and community differences which contributed to self-ideal discrepancy.

Implications of these findings, as well as suggestions for future research, are discussed.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

It has been suggested by many researchers that the value systems of Indian children living on reservations are markedly different from those of their non-Indian teachers. This discrepancy has been held responsible for a plethora of educational difficulties.

According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, a value may be defined as a mode of conduct or standard of excellence which is intrinsically desirable, prized or esteemed. Rokeach (1976, p. 24) elaborated on the concept of value, defining it as:

> a type of belief, centrally located within one's total belief system, about how one ought or ought not to behave, or about some end-state of existence worth or not worth attaining. Values are thus abstract ideals, positive or negative . . . representing a person's beliefs about ideal modes of conduct and ideal terminal goals.

Thus, one very important function of an individual's set of values, or value system, is to serve as a guideline for the qualities which constitute an "ideal person."

Values are not intrinsic in man, but are learned in the context of a culture: the system by which and through which a group of people live (Mead 1955). What is valued by the majority of the members of the culture, the "preferred mode of conduct," will be that mode of behavior which reflects the existing life style of the people, and which works for the preservation of the culture as a whole. For example, pre-

Columbian Indians living in a nomadic culture, whose subsistence depended mainly upon hunting, valued the qualities of bravery and autonomy. These qualities were valued because an individual who was brave and autonomous would be best able to satisfy the economic needs of himself and others in the society (Bryde 1966).

Rokeach (1968) recognized cognitive, behavioral, and affective components in a value system. In the forementioned example, autonomy and bravery, cognitive representations, were measured and achieved behaviorally through success in hunting experiences, and involved an affectively positive experience of subjective pride. Moreover, an "ideal male" in this society would necessarily demonstrate success in hunting as one manifestation of his ability to live up to his society's values. In other words, values and life style are both interrelated and interactive.

There were many tribes of Indians living in America before the arrival of the Europeans. Each tribe had its own unique cultural life style. However, because the life styles of the tribes were also similar in many respects, historians and anthropologists have attributed bravery, autonomy, and other values to pre-technological Indians as a whole (Spindler & Spindler 1957). Entire value systems had been preserved through numerous generations, since the tribes themselves were relatively static, maintaining fixed patterns and traditions and predominantly closed to influences from the outside (Malan 1963). With the arrival of the Europeans, however, the whole culture of the Indian tribes began to undergo a series of changes.

The Europeans exposed the Indians to new ideas and new ways of behaving. A process of cultural exchange quickly developed. Those

innovations which could be easily incorporated into the life styles and underlying value systems of each group were rapidly adopted. However, the Europeans, with their advanced military technology, were soon able to establish themselves as the dominant culture. As such, they were able to effect many more changes in the life styles of the Indians. These changes were often incongruous with the values of the Indian tribes (Josephy 1969). The Indian presented with a dilemma between the old customs and the new customs could react in one of three ways: by accepting the changes and thereby living in a state of inner disharmony; by rebelling against the changes, either actively or passively, unless or until he could learn to value them; or by attempting to reconcile the differences, creating for himself a unique life style. Insofar as differences in values could not be reconciled, there was a "values clash."

Since they are socially isolated from the larger culture, Indians on the reservation have successfully retained many of their traditional values. Even for those living off the reservations, a distinct value system has often been recognized (Macgregor 1946; Beiser 1974; Cress & O'Donnell 1975). Indians are a diverse group, and there may be vast differences from one tribe to another, and even within the members of one tribe. However, characteristics which are often commonly attributed to Indians in general include stoic bravery and individual freedom (Bryde 1971), behavioral rather than verbal self-expression, relaxed attitude towards work and activity (Dozier 1971), lack of time consciousness (Polacca 1962), orientation in the present, giving as opposed to receiving, respect for age, and cooperation (Roessel 1971). Indians

are seen as living in harmony with nature, instead of attempting to change or modify nature for their personal gains (Roessel 1971). They are characterized as emotionally nondemonstrative, reserved, and attentive to the concrete realities of the present (Spindler & Spindler 1954). There may also be value differences which affect social interactions. For example, Indians may not look at others directly in the eye, because gazing at another person is disrespectful (Wax & Thomas 1961).

The forementioned generalizations have appeared many times throughout the literature, even though there is little empirical proof to justify their validity. They have been based largely on field observations of Indian groups. Because the same generalizations have been noted by many different anthropologists, they appear to have consensual validity, serving as a means to conceptualize differences between Indians and whites. However, as Spindler and Spindler (1954) noted, these characteristics are "in no sense fixed psychological traits" for all Indians (p. 149).

Due to the recognized differences between Indians and whites, both in life styles and values, the Indian child emerges from a different cultural setting. However, because the Indian child spends up to one-third of his life in school, he also has a great exposure to contemporary white values: the schools are probably the most important agency representing the broader American culture (Elkin 1960). Thus, the child himself may be caught in a "values clash," and may appear to live between two worlds (Roessel 1971). Elkin (1960) describes this situation by using the concept of "marginality," in which the child is depicted as living on the margins of two cultures, having loyalties to both but not being completely a member of either.

The Indian child's primary loyalties are probably towards his parents' values, since he initially learns these values during the all-important first five years of his life (Misiaszek 1969). He brings these values with him when he begins his formal education. If his values are not understood, accepted and appreciated by those interacting with him in the school setting, and if he in turn cannot appreciate the new values he encounters, a conflict may arise. He may rebel by dropping out, skipping school and/or by failing to acquire academic skills (Dozier 1971; Chadwick, Bahr & Strauss 1977; Westermeyer 1973). His non-Indian teacher, who is as much a product of his own cultural value system, may react negatively towards him, expecting him to perform poorly (Zintz 1969; Pine Ridge Research Bulletin 1970). An educational stalemate may ensue, with neither the child nor the teacher being able to relate to one another.

One way to understand such an educational stalemate is to systematically investigate the value systems of white teachers and their Indian students. Statistical analyses and empirical design may be used to further the investigation. In an attempt to explore value systems as they relate to education on an Indian reservation, this researcher received permission from the Red Lake and Mission school boards of the Red Lake Indian Reservation to conduct a study. Red Lake Reservation teachers and their Ojibway students in grades three through six were chosen to be the subjects of the study. The study was designed to determine what qualities the students and their teachers think an "ideal student" should possess, and the extent to which each group felt that Indian students approximate this ideal. An effort was

also made to relate the variables of sex, age, amount of time on the reservation, school, community, academic achievement test scores, percentage of Indian blood and percentage of absenteeism to the scores obtained from the students.

In order to investigate the Ojibway life style and value system, a review of the literature pertinent to the study embraces the following areas: a brief history of pre-technological Ojibway Indians, and a description of modern-day life on the Red Lake Indian Reservation. Academic achievement of Indian groups and self concept and its correlates will also be explored. These topics will be discussed sequentially in the following pages.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL, ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS

History of the Ojibways

Almost all of the children who took part in the present study are members of the Red Lake band of Chippewa (Ojibway) Indians. As Ojibway Indians, they share a common cultural heritage. As it is generally believed that remnants from the past may continue to influence Ojibway culture (Miller & Caulkin 1964; Hay 1977), the purpose of this section is to explore the children's heritage. The life style and value system of pre-technological Ojibways will be presented, particularly as these factors affected children growing up in the culture.

In tracing the history of the Ojibway Indians in primeval times, the works of Josephy (1968), Ritzenhaler and Ritzenhaler (1970), and Farb (1968) serve as excellent resources. When the white man first encountered the Ojibways, they were congregated around Lakes Michigan and Superior. Nomadic hunters and fishermen, they moved their wigwams from one area to another in search of game. Cultural trappings included the toboggan, the birchbark canoe, cradle boards and moccasins.

The Ojibway society was patriarchal, with the men responsible for hunting and defense. The women cooked and assisted the men, and also took primary responsibility for child-rearing. Each individual in the society identified himself with a particular animal or symbol, called a Totem. Originally, there were five such Totems.

Totems preserved blood relationships within the tribes, as those individuals who shared the same Totem were regarded as siblings. Marriage between such individuals was strictly forbidden, being punishable by death (Warren 1957).

Landes (1968), an anthropologist, studied the Ojibway religion, which was preserved by the Midewiwin (Grand Medecine Society). This group consisted of shamans who used spiritual invocations to heal the sick. The shamans also promoted ethical values among the members of the tribe. Many of the rites of this group were held in the deepest secrecy, and imparted only to those individuals who were granted membership into the group. However, some of the Midewiwin curative techniques have been enumerated by Ritzenhaler (1953). In addition to ceremonial dances, mechanical methods including cupping (or blood letting), tattooing (or sticking the patient with a needled instrument), and prescribing sweat baths. The shamans also used offering trees in an attempt to placate the spirits. Since the Ojibways lived by hunting and their existence depended upon physical fitness, health was a very important concern. Thus, the shamans were accorded the highest prestige.

Densmore (1970) explored the role of children growing up in the Ojibway tribes. Formal education was non-existent. The Indian child was taught about his culture through the efforts of his parents and other members of the tribe. Early child-rearing practices tended to be gentle and somewhat permissive by contemporary white standards, with fear and the threat of social disapproval being used as the main disciplinary techniques to ensure obedience. Young children who would not obey were told that the owl would take them away. Older children

received specific instruction and advice on the customs of the people. Children learned through observation and imitation, as well as through direct instruction. Toys and games were often imitative of adult tasks.

Storytellers played a part in the instruction of the children, and their place was highly revered. Johnston (1976) preserved some of the early Ojibway stories. In them, the Ojibway's love of nature and deep religious feelings are clearly demonstrated. Although many of these stories were told for amusement, the beliefs and values of the people served as the general themes. Frequently, native animals were utilized to exemplify specific virtues or vices. In this way, the Indian child clearned which attributes were favored in his society, and which were scorned.

Summarizing, the Indian child learned to be obedient to the rules of his tribe, to display good moral conduct, and to cooperate non-aggressively with his family and peers. As life was often difficult and depended upon much hard work, the child also learned to carry out his assigned responsibilities and to help others whenever he had the opportunity.

In conclusion, the Ojibway child learned to value an existence based on harmonious cooperation with man, nature, and the gods. As long as the child carried out the sex-related tasks which were assigned, parental permissiveness afforded an increasing degree of autonomy and personal freedom.

Hilger (1951) studied Ojibway Indians on nine reservations from 1932 to 1940, and wrote a book which recorded information she had obtained through personal interviews. Twenty-five Ojibway informants

from the Red Lake Reservation took part in her study. Hilger concentrated on child growth and development, but also presented a picture of traditional adult life. She felt that many of the traditional ways had been abandoned, and she wanted to preserve them before they were entirely forgotten. However, she noted that many of the people still behaved in the traditional manner.

Even though Hilger's account is fascinating, her research was conducted nearly forty years ago, and may not reflect current life on the reservation. The next section will present a brief view of modern-day life on the Red Lake Reservation, as it has evolved from the middle 1700's to 1979. Particular emphasis will be placed on the school system.

The Red Lake Indian Reservation

Mittelholtz (1957) traced the history of the Red Lake Reservation from the early 1700's. The Sioux, who first inhabited the area where Red Lake is located, were conquered by the Ojibways in the 1750's. The Ojibways have continued to occupy the reservation lands since that time.

In 1830, the first permanent village was established at Red Lake. Although the Ojibways still dealt with fur traders, many of them also successfully raised grain and vegetables, and fished extensively on the lake. Some Ojibways maintained a nomadic existence, hunting buffalo west of the Red River in the winter.

The earliest school, founded at Redlake in 1843 by the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, lasted less than fifteen years. It was not until 1873 that the federal government constructed a one-room day school, followed a few years later by a boarding school.

St. Mary's Mission, originally a boarding school, was founded in 1889 as the direct result of a visit by the Drexel Sisters of Philadelphia. The establishment of a school at Cross Lake (Ponemah) was much more difficult, due to the antagonistic views of its residents. However, in 1901, a school was finally constructed. Schools were also established in Redby.

The Red Lake Reservation today consists of four separate communities: Redlake, Redby, Little Rock and Ponemah. The first three communities are located within ten miles of each other. Ponemah lies 25 miles to the north.

The reservation is closed: that is, all the land is cooperatively owned by the Red Lake band, and cannot be sold to outsiders. The government is by Tribal Board, consisting of 11 members and headed by the Tribal Chief. Red Lake has its own police force and its own judicial system.

There are three elementary schools in existence: the public school in Redlake, constructed in 1955; the Red Lake Mission, also in Redlake, and constructed in the 1940's; and the public school in Ponemah, completed in 1953. There is one high school on the reservation which was built in 1950 in Redlake, and which serves the entire reservation.

The school buildings on the Red Lake Reservation are similar to those found in many small towns. However, the unique identity of Red Lake Indians appears to be different. Provinse (1954) reported the conclusions of a group of social scientists, all experienced in Indian affairs, who had met to discuss Indian survival. He stated that Indians living on reservations will "continue indefinitely as distinct social units, preserving their basic values, personality, and Indian way of life, while making continual adjustments, often superficial in nature,

to the economic and political demands of the larger society" (p. 388). The Red Lake Reservation today may be seen as epitomizing the idea of old and new patterns of behavior in a state of coexistence. Brill (1974) wrote about the changing life style on this particular reservation, showing the transition from traditional ways towards a technological society. His photographs captured many of the landmarks and buildings of an earlier era before they were destroyed. He filmed traditional wakes, basketweaving procedures, and methods of food and fuel-gathering, as well as the new lumber mill, fisheries, and other technological advances existing in this society.

Since there is no longer one dominant life style on the reservation, it is expected that the children will display a diversity of responses in their descriptions of an "ideal student," and and in how far they place themselves from the ideal. Some of these differences may be related to the particular community in which they reside, since each community is a distinct entity. Pike (1975) found such differences among three demographic groups of Indians living in Sioux City, South Dakota. The different schools also may play their part in fostering differences of opinion (Kumar 1975; Metcalf 1976). Thus, one part of the present study is directed towards attempting to identify the relationship between school, community, and self esteem.

Academic Achievement and the Indian

In 1969, the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education reviewed the academic progress of American Indians. Citing such evidence as the high dropout rate, which is twice that of the national average, they concluded that the policies and programs for educating American Indians

is a national tragedy. Cahn (1969, p. 28) reported that Indian children scored "consistently lower than white children at every grade level, in both verbal and non-verbal skills according to national tests. Heath (1971) reported that 60 percent of all Indian students do not graduate. For those 40 percent who do graduate, the national achievement test average score is at the 9.5 grade level.

Havighurst (1970c) suggested three explanations for poor academic achievement among American Indians: (1) low inherited intellectual ability, (2) deprivation in family life experiences, and (3) inferior school experiences. The legitimacy of each of these explanations will be examined.

In conceptualizing the intelligence of American Indians, investigators have tended to support one of two theories: a native inferiority theory, in which the Indian is viewed as mentally deficient when compared with whites; or a culture difference theory, in which the Indian is viewed as having equal mental competence. Early studies on the intellectual ability of American Indians tended to support the hypothesis of inferior native ability. The first reported study was that of Rowe (1914), who tested 547 white and 268 Indian children with the Binet-Simon tests. He determined that 94 percent of the Indian children were mentally inferior to the whites. Means and standard deviations were not given. Rowe stated that he had given the Indians additional time, in order to "avoid the possible criticism that the Indian's reaction time is the main difference in the two races" (p. 456). He also claimed that educational and nutritional standards were equal, although it was uncertain how this was determined.

Hunter and Sommermier (1922) tested 715 Indians from 65 tribes who were attending the Haskell Institute in Kansas. Dividing their subjects into four groups based on percentage of Indian blood, they demonstrated a steady decrease in average intelligence quotient (IQ) scores on the Otis Intelligence Test with an increase in degree of Indian blood (¼ blood: IQ = 109; ½ blood: IQ = 91; 3/4 blood: IQ = 78; full blood: IQ = 67). A correlation of -.41 was computed between IQ and degree of Indian blood. As in Rowe's study, the results were interpreted as indicating deficient native ability.

Haught (1934) tested 931 New Mexican Indian children from 5½ to 16½ years of age. The younger children were given the Pintner-Cunningham Primary Mental Test. Those in the middle grades were administered the National Intelligence Test, and the older children took the Terman Group Test of Mental Ability. Haught computed IQs ranging from 71 to 87, and also discovered that IQ scores decreased with age. He failed to recognize the fact that the different tests may have partially accounted for the declines in IQ.

Telford (1932) found inferior IQs (88, as compared to 100 for whites) among 225 Indian children, as measured by the Goodenough Test. As additional measures of intelligence, Telford used the Peterson Rational Learning, Healey, Puzzle "A", Porteus Maze, and Mare and Foal tests. He declared Indian inferiority across all measures, with the exception of the Mare and Foal test. On this test, the Indians performed in a superior manner when compared with the white norms.

It is particularly fascinating to explore the interpretation which Telford made for the Indians' superiority on the Mare and Foal test. Telford had previously stated that he had selected all tests

because they were "fairly non-linguistic in nature, drawing but little on past experiences, and probably reflecting cultural backgrounds to a less degree than most other tests" (p. 125). However, Telford claimed that the Indians' superiority on the Mare and Foal test was due to familiarity with the subject matter, making the test culture laden. In fact, as will be discussed later, it is uncertain if any tests are truly culture-free.

It has been asserted that all of the previously mentioned studies on Indian intelligence contain serious methodological flaws. Rohrer (1942) claimed to have found two or more errors in each of these studies. Among these errors, he listed lack of proper control for the following variables: language, socioeconomic status, cultural environment, schooling, test motivation, and rapport with the examiner. He also stated that age and percentage of Indian blood may have been inaccurately calculated in many cases.

As early as 1928, Klineberg supported a culture difference theory to explain Indian intelligence. He tested 120 Yakima Indians and 110 white children who ranged from 7 to 16 years of age. The children attended the same school for the most part, and reportedly emerged from similar socioeconomic backgrounds. The Mare and Foal, Casuist Form Board, Healey, Triangle, and Knox Cube tests were administered. Klineberg reported that, on all tests, the white children were faster, but the Indians made fewer errors. For example, on the Mare and Foal test the whites averaged 29 seconds with two errors, whereas the Indians averaged 33 seconds with one error. Klineberg interpreted his data as revealing cultural differences: the white child is used to a fast-paced life, whereas the Indian child tends to take his time. Klineberg

also cautiously remarked that some of the poor results reported by other investigators might be due to linguistic and educational differences.

Since 1935, most investigators have supported the theory that Indian children are as mentally competent as whites. Rohrer (1942) tested 235 Osage Indian children and 235 white children living in Oklahoma and attending the same schools with the Goodenough and Otis tests. Both groups were reportedly socially, educationally, and economically similar to each other and to the majority of the white population. However, the Indians were probably not representative of the majority of Indian children. On the Goodenough test, the Indians averaged 103.8, as compared with 102.92 for the whites; the difference was not statistically significant. The difference between Otis test averages of 100.05 for Indians and 98.05 for whites was also insignificant. Furthermore, Rohrer achieved insignificant correlations between percentage of Indian blood for the Osage children and the two tests (.01 for the Goodenough, .002 for the Otis). He concluded that Indians are not ethnologically inferior.

Havighurst and Hilkeritch (1946) found the average intelligence quotient among children from six different tribes to be 100.2, as measured by the Grace Arthur Performance Test of Intelligence. Evvard (1966) tested a randomly selected sample of 58 children from the beginner's, first and second grades at a Navaho reservation boarding school in Arizona. Using the Bender Gestalt test, she reported scores comparable to those of the white standardization group. And Levinsky (1970) scored 1,678 Goodenough tests taken by Indian children from 30 Indian communities, finding an average IQ of 101.5. In her study, 14 tribal

groups and 12 states were represented, including Ojibway Indians of Minnesota.

Where inferior scores for Indians have been reported, many investigators have tended to blame the testing instruments, rather than the Indian children. Among these investigators are Norman and Midkiff (1955), who used the Ravens Progressive Matrices and the Goodenough tests with 96 New Mexican Navaho children, achieving mean IQ scores of 64.94 and 99.26, respectively. They declared the Ravens Progressive Matrices an inadequate cross-cultural instrument. Bernardoni (1961) tested Mohave, Chimehuevis, Hopis, Navahos, and other Indian children with the TOGA (S.R.A. Tests of General Ability), translating the test when necessary. The TOGA was designed to measure cultural (verbal) and non-cultural (reasoning) abilities. Total IQs for the Indian subjects ranged from 69.84 to 74.74, as measured by this instrument. When Bernardoni discovered that Indian children actually achieved higher scores on the so-called "non-cultural" half of the test, he pronounced the test invalid in its present form.

The attitudes of these, and other, investigators may be summarized by the following:

> . . . those groups ordinarily diagnosed as deprived have the same underlying competence as those in the mainstream of the dominant culture, the differences in performance being accounted for by the situations and contexts in which the competence is expressed. To put the matter most rigorously, one can find a corresponding situation in which the member of the "out culture" . . . can perform on the basis of a given competence in a fashion equal to or superior to the standard achieved by a member of the dominant culture (Cole & Bruner 1971, p. 870).

Klineberg (1935) demonstrated that Indians can, indeed, perform in a superior fashion to whites. Facetiously, he designed a beading

test, and compared white and Indian girls on pattern reproduction after a four-minute exposure to a beadwork design. Presumably due to experience with beading tasks, the Indians' work showed definite superiority. Klineberg stated that his results demonstrated the "unfairness of taking a test arising from one culture and applying it to another, as we have been in the habit of doing" (p. 162).

Pray (1979), the Area Coordinator of Special Education for the Bureau of Indian Affairs at Aberdeen, South Dakota, expressed dissatisfaction with the fact that the legal necessity of testing handicapped Indian students often yields culturally biased IQ scores. He noted that the Information, Comprehension, Vocabulary, and Picture Arrangement subtests of the Wechsler IQ tests rely heavily on knowledge of the dominant culture. As a solution, Pray devised a formula to apply to obtained Wechsler IQ scores, which uses "the students' own scores to weigh those subtests that are heavily culture laden" (p. 9). However, Pray's solution may decrease the predictive validity of the Wechsler tests as indices of success in traditional school settings.

Nevertheless, making modifications on existing tests seems to be a viable option as a means to ensure cultural validity. But in the final analysis, all tests are culture laden. As Goodenough and Harris (1950, p. 399) stated,

> the search for a culture-free test, whether of intelligence, artistic ability, personal-social characteristics, or any other measurable trait is illusory . . . the naive assumption that the mere freedom from verbal requirements renders a test equally suitable for all groups is no longer tenable.

There are still some investigators who feel that Indians should demonstrate comparable achievement on all intelligence tests. Lloyd

(1961) tested 28 Indians and 1,063 non-Indians in grades 3 through 12 with the California Test of Mental Maturity. In spite of the fact that his groups were grossly unequal in size, Lloyd felt that the Indians' lower scores were a result of inferior cultural background. He found a significant difference between the whites and the Indians on IQs at all grade levels.

A consideration of cultural backgrounds leads to a discussion of Havighurst's second explanation for poor academic achievement among Indians: family deprivation. Havighurst (1970c, p. 2) blamed improper home experiences for what he considered to be resultant inferior verbalizations: "If their parents read widely, read to them, use large vocabularies while conversing at home, take them to museums, provide children's encyclopedias in the home, and set examples of educated behavior, the children will generally follow in their footsteps." In other words, if parents act as members of the dominant culture, the children will show greater academic achievement.

Achievement and life style may be related in a viscious circle: because the parent achieved poorly, he does not read to the child, who in turn achieves poorly, and perpetuates the circle. However, Havighurst's solution to Indian achievement requires Indian parents to model middle-class white behavior. A serious inadequacy of this solution is that expectations which may be impossible to perform are placed upon the older generation. Moreover, the parents may not wish to behave like middle-class whites, but may value their own life style.

There is another flaw in a cultural deficiency hypothesis, such as that supported by Havighurst. Such a hypothesis rests on a rather

extreme form of ethnocentricity. The Indian child, whose verbalizations are not the same as those of a middle-class white child, is viewed as demonstrating inferiority in verbal expression. He might just as easily be viewed as culturally different.

Cole and Bruner (1971) reviewed the literature on so-called cultural deprivation and inferior verbalizations. They asserted the functional equality of all languages, remarking that it is the psychologist's ignorance of language in general which causes him to make judgements concerning deficits. Holtzman (1971, p. 551) objected to lack of recognition of linguistic variability, and of cultural differences as a whole:

> One of the most important changes of the past decade in the field of mental measurement as well as in society as a whole is the greatly increased respect for social, cultural, and linguistic variability among different kinds of people. Until recently, the "American way of life" was defined almost entirely by middle-class values of white, English-speaking people of largely western-European origin. In general, school curricula, symbols of social status and privilege, occupations, the more highly valued life styles, and to some extent even suggested definitions of intelligence, all conformed to the dominant values of which most Americans were proud.

These authors seem to support the Indian's right to maintain his own cultural identity, including his way of life and value system.

If Indians are to be permitted to retain their own cultural identity, it is necessary to consider the third explanation for inferior academic achievement: inferior school experiences. Cahn (1969, p. 30) remarked that teachers were largely to blame for the Indian student's poor achievement:

> Teachers who come to the reservation day schools often know little about the children they are going to teach. . . . Teacher orientation and training sessions pay scant attention to the Indian cultural values or to problems which the teacher may encounter with children who . . . have different values and know different experiences.

Zintz (1960), who studied Indian students in New Mexico public schools, felt that white teachers are aware of obvious differences in language, dress, and customs, but that they are not aware of the more subtle and intangible differences in values, attitudes, and feelings. Heath (1971, p. 26) expressed his viewpoint by stating:

> The Indian pupil's communal identity clashes with the school's emphasis on competition and individual rewards. . . . The school, representing the mainstream values, seeks to assimilate the Indian pupil rather than respect his identity, and accommodate him in the curriculum. It rhetorically expounds the vaunted pluralism of America, but refuses to practice it in the classroom.

In order to assess the accuracy of these viewpoints, empirical data focusing on value differences must be reviewed. Such data is noticeably lacking. However, the results of a study conducted at the Red Lake Reservation in 1976 by Reid and Sparks suggests that there may be at least one value difference between the teachers and the students. At the request of the Red Lake Tribal Council, Reid and Sparks, members of the Midwest Research Institute, developed and administered a questionnaire to 66 teachers and administrators, 91 high school students, and 66 parents randomly selected from the community. The purpose of the study was to develop goals and objectives for the Red Lake School System. One of the statistically significant findings of the study was that parents preferred the schools to emphasize cooperation, while teachers preferred both cooperation and competition. Since cooperation has been previously identified as a commonly recognized Ojibway value, this finding suggests a possible cultural difference.

As one of the goals for the Red Lake School System, Reid and Sparks recommended increased communication between parents, teachers,

and students. Fuchs (1970, p. 2) believed that increased communication between Indian students and their teachers would result from the teachers' respectful recognition of Indian identity: "Too often, educators, believing themselves democratic, prefer to view all children as like. Children differ not only as individuals but also as members of different social groups." Other writers who have stressed the importance of informing teachers of important cultural differences include Stone (1964), Misiaszek (1969), Zintz (1969), Dozier (1971), and Evans and Husband (1975).

A survey of 634 teachers who dealt with Indian students was conducted in 1970 by Krause, Ziegler, and Havighurst. Over 400 of these teachers were interviewed; questionnaires were secured from the entire group. A total of 55 schools in 30 communities served as the sample population. According to the results of the questionnaire, 64 percent of the teachers were favorably impressed with Indian students, 33 percent declared neutrality, and 3 percent said they would prefer to teach non-Indians. Further findings, as reported by Havighurst (1970a, p. 26), indicated that:

> Sixty-three percent marked as "false" the statement, "No matter what we do in school, the cultures of Indian children impedes their learning." With respect to the statement: "Teachers of Indian children do not really know how to communicate with their pupils," 54 percent disagreed, 16 percent were uncertain, and 30 percent agreed.

Havighurst admitted that verbal attitudes may not correlate with behavior. However, all teachers had been assured that their responses would be kept confidential, so it appears that the findings may accurately reflect verbal attitudes.

Krause, Ziegler and Havighurst ran a series of correlations on the obtained data. Positive attitudes towards Indians increased with teacher age. Since older teachers have usually taught longer, this finding may simply reflect the fact that dissatisfied teachers tend to drop out. Another interesting finding revealed that there were no sex differences between male and female teachers. The authors concluded their report by stating that the teachers' efforts seemed to be limited by lack of knowledge of the Indian community and their students.

Lack of knowledge of the Red Lake community and their students may be a limitation of Red Lake teachers, especially since many of the teachers live off the reservation, and their contact with the children is limited. Reid and Sparks (1976) reported that many of the teachers on the Red Lake Reservation made comments which indicated that they felt like "outsiders" on the reservation, even though 86 percent reported overall job satisfaction. Even those teachers who are members of the community may have difficulty understanding Indian ways, since their values were learned in the context of the larger culture.

Brill (1974, p. 23), a white man who spent more than a decade in contact with Red Lake Indians, summed up his acquired knowledge as follows: "In time I came to understand it comes down to a question of priorities. What is of the greatest importance to the white man may simply not fall within the Red Laker's range of values and interests, and he will ignore it."

The purpose of the present study is to explore the differential attitudes, value systems and beliefs of Indian students and their teachers. Specifically, this researcher attempted to assess how the Red Lake child

characterizes himself, and what characteristics he would ideally choose to possess. In order to do this, an instrument which measures self concept was used.

The Self Concept

Wylie (1961, 1974) provided an excellent review of research literature pertaining to the self concept. Because there are conflicting views on what self concept actually involves, Wylie noted that the term, "self concept," has been operationally defined and measured in many different ways. Strong and Feder (1961) also reviewed the literature, remarking that, theoretically, the individual has many self concepts. The present study will define and use three terms relating to self: the phenomenal self, the ideal self, and self-esteem.

Rogers (1959, p. 203) noted that many researchers have attempted to define self concept in such a way as to include unconscious material, as well as conscious material. He stated that:

> Although we recognize that this is certainly a legitimate way of abstracting from the phenomena, we believe it is not a useful way because it produces a concept which cannot at this point be given operational definition. One cannot obtain sufficient agreement as to the content of the individual's unconscious to make research possible. Hence we believe it is more fruitful to define the self-concept as a gestalt which is available to consciousness.

In line with Rogers' thinking, the self concept will be defined in the present study as a "theory that the individual has unwittingly constructed about himself as an experiencing, functioning individual" (Epstein, 1973, p. 407). Only those attributes which an individual consciously recognizes and affirms as representing himself will be considered. Such a definition permits the use of a self-report measure to assess self concept.

It is believed by many theorists that the conscious, or phenomenal, self arises in part from the values of an individual. Rogers (1951, p. 36) described his view of the phenomenal self as follows:

> The self-concept or self-structure may be thought of as an organized configuration of perceptions of the self which are admissible to awareness. It is composed of such elements as the perception of one's characteristics and abilities, the percepts and concepts of the self in relation to others and to their environment, the value qualities which are perceived as having positive or negative valence.

The second definition, that of the ideal self, also involves value systems. Ideal self represents an individual's conceptions of the qualities which constitute a "good" person. Rogers (1959, p. 200) defined the ideal self as "the self-concept which the individual would most like to possess, upon which he places the highest value for himself." As stated previously, each society also has its own views of ideal self, which arises in part from the society's life style.

The third term which will be used is self-esteem. This term involves the "degree to which a person regards himself as an object of importance and worth" (Guggenheim 1969, p. 64). Once again, this term has been recognized as partially dependent upon individual and group values (Coopersmith 1967).

Since the phenomenal self, the ideal self and self-esteem all involve values, an important question is raised: can an individual from a minority culture be evaluated in the same way as one from the dominant culture? Previously cited research on intelligence testing seems to indicate that many tests have limited validity with Indian populations, due to different cultural experiences. It seems even more likely that culture would influence ratings on the self, the ideal self, and self-

esteem, since they are deeply interwoven with life styles and value systems.

Fein, O'Neill, Frank and Velit (1975), in a questionnaire combining 26 items from the Coopersmith and the Piers-Harris instruments, found no significant differences between four different ethnic groups. However, Cress and O'Donnell (1975), in their study of 104 Oglala Sioux high school students at Pine Ridge, South Dakota, felt that the existing self-esteem inventories were invalid for use with Indian groups, because the values of these groups had not been taken into consideration in the construction of norms. Details of this study will be presented later in this paper.

Lefley (1974) discovered that the means for Miccosukee and Seminole Indian children on the Piers-Harris were significantly below white norms (41.00 for the Miccosukee and 41.37 for the Seminoles, as compared to normative means of 51.57 out of a possible score of 80), and were also less variable. However, Lefley felt that the Indian children did not show low self-esteem on an Indian self-report measure which was utilized. The Miccosukees averaged 8.53 and the Seminoles averaged 8.29 out of a possible score of 12.00. The measure consisted of "statements relating to Indian identification and satisfaction with Indian lifestyle, personality, intelligence, and body image, marked to elicit positive and negative responses" (p. 463). In order to mitigate the stimulus value of these items, they had been randomly interspersed with the Piers-Harris items. However, it should be noted that the Indian self concept items are of unknown reliability and validity, and normative means are lacking.

Oanh and Michael (1977) also believed that general cultural attitudes influenced the outcome of their study. Using the Piers-Harris measure with fourth and sixth grade children from six ethnic groups, they discovered differences in self concept rating which seemed to vary as a function of culturally prescribed values. For instance, a significant difference was found by comparing mean scores of 18 black and 24 Vietnamese children on a scale of the Piers-Harris designed to measure physical appearance and attributes. Oanh and Michael (1977, p. 1013) explained the significant difference by stating:

> That Negro pupils scored highest among all ethnic groups on such a measure of physical appearance appears to reflect their general interest in, and admiration for, physical strength and endurance. That Vietnamese pupils in the sample scored lowest on physical appearance may be interpreted as a reflection of a general attitude of reservation and modesty characteristic of Oriental culture . . .

It is necessary to attempt a resolution of the problem which differential values might create in self concept measurement with Indian groups. Three solutions to this problem will be explored. One solution is to reconstruct existing keys to reflect culturally defined norms. This could be accomplished through validation studies with Indian populations.

A second solution is to create new measuring instruments for use with Indian populations. Dreyer and Havighurst (1970) noted the possibility of cultural bias in current instruments, which makes comparisons between Indian and non-Indian groups untenable. Dreyer (1970) tested the concurrent validity of two self-made instruments designed to measure Indian phenomenal self. The first instrument, modeled after the Q-sort and termed a self-esteem inventory, consisted of ten positive and ten

negative statements designed to assess school, home, and peer relationships, as well as feelings of self-competency. The second instrument was a semantic differential inventory, consisting of nine concepts which the subject rated using seven adjective pairs. Some of the concepts used were "Indians," "tribe's way of life," "white people's way of life," and "myself." These instruments were administered to 2007 Indians from 8 to 20 years of age, divided into eight groups based on locale. Obtained split-half reliability estimates for the two instruments were generally low and unfavorable, ranging from .34 to .65. Concurrent validity scores revealed fluctuations from one group to another, leading the authors to conclude that "the nature of the 'phenomenal self' was not the same for all Indians" (p. 22). Thus, it appears that test construction for Indian populations is in its initial stage, and more research is needed in this area.

The major difficulty with both of the previously stated solutions to Indian self concept measurement is that cultural validity may still not be achieved. A test developed or normed for Ojibways of Red Lake may be invalid for Sioux of Fort Totten. The resource expenditure involved may not be worthwhile if the results have limited applicability.

However, a third solution focusing on an alternative use of existing tools may allow minimal resource expenditure, while maximizing the goal of cultural relativity. Bills, Vance and McLean (1951) suggested measuring both an individual's self concept and his ideal self. It was hypothesized that discrepancy scores between the two measures would reflect the degree of personal maladjustment: as the discrepancy score increased, the individual would experience a greater degree of subjective distress.

Rogers (1959) believed that increased self-ideal self congruency was an expected outcome of a successful therapeutic relationship. However, he also believed that subjective distress arises over an incongruency between self concept and an individual's experiences. According to Rogers, incongruent experiences are frequently either distorted or denied awareness in order to maintain a consistent self concept. In the present use of self-ideal self discrepancy, subjective distress is not defined as incongruency between self concept and experiences, but rather as incongruency between self concept and ideal self. Thus, it is assumed that the "average" individual is aware of how he would truly like to be, and is consciously distressed by the degree to which he fails to approximate his ideal. Again, a self-report instrument should be able to assess perceived self-ideal self incongruency.

Using a self concept instrument in this way allows a minority group member to establish his own scoring key. His ideal self answers constitute the key, against which his self measures are scored. The extent to which his self concept differs from that of his ideal self is used to determine his self-esteem. Specific statistical analyses will be discussed later.

Self-ideal self discrepancies have been used with other cultures, and have been interpreted as indicating the degree of self-acceptance. In one study of this nature, Murthy and Botkawar (1975) used an adaptation of the Washburne Social Adjustment Inventory and an adjective trait sorting test with normal and maladjusted subjects in India. Self-ideal discrepancy scores were computed: statistical analysis revealed that the maladjusted group obtained significantly higher discrepancy scores.

Correlational analysis revealed that the degree of self-ideal discrepancy increased as the degree of maladjustment increased. The authors interpreted the latter finding as indicating that self-acceptance is low in maladjusted individuals living in India.

Summarizing, self-ideal discrepancy will be used as a measure of self-esteem in the present study. A low discrepancy score will be interpreted as indicative of high self-esteem. In terms of psychological processes, it will be assumed that: "High congruence is evidenced by a relative sense of fit and balance; incongruity seems to function as an expression of perceived insufficiency and yearning for excellence or perfection" (Norem-Hebeisen 1976, p. 560).

Wylie (1974) offered two serious methodological criticisms of self-ideal self measurement. Most measurement instruments use scales where more than two responses are possible. As Wylie stated, "it is not known even within a single scale that equal-size discrepancies represent either equal-size cognitive discrepancies or equal degrees of self-regard" (p. 94). The second difficulty is the occurrence of reverse discrepancies: a person may rate himself as more positive than his ideal. As Wylie pointed out, there is no proof that these reverse discrepancies have the same meanings as discrepancies in the usual direction.

Dreyer (1970, p. 2) commented upon problems with self concept studies in general:

> Attempts to define operationally or measure the "phenomenal self" have produced a wide variety of tests and instruments . . . operational definitions of the self-concept have seldom used common instruments whose reliability and validity have been adequately demonstrated. As a result, self-concept studies have tended to produce a confusion of measuring instruments, most of which lack precision and validity, so that any confidence which might be placed in the inferences so often drawn from their results is severely undermined.

In order to alleviate the stated difficulties, the Piers-Harris Children's Self Concept Scale (PHCSCS), a self concept instrument with established reliability and validity, was utilized. There is no possibility of obtaining a reverse discrepancy by using this instrument, since there are only two response choices ("yes" and "no"), and since the subject's ideal self responses constitute the key. Because there are only two choices, cognitive discrepancies of unequal size are avoided.

However, a problem remains in using the PHCSCS is this fashion. Okun and Sasfy (1977) emphasized the fact that all of the postulates which an individual holds in his self theory may not have equal importance. In the present study, a self-ideal discrepancy relating to happiness and a discrepancy relating to popularity are equally weighted in the scoring. In fact, a subject may not experience the same degree of subjective distress for the two discrepancies. In order to partially account for this problem, six clusters of the PHCSCS, identified by Piers and Harris (1964), were also analyzed. These clusters are: (1) Behavior, (2) Intellectual and School Status, (3) Physical Appearance and Attributes, (4) Anxiety, (5) Popularity, and (6) Happiness and Satisfaction. By looking at each of these clusters, relative emphases can be noted.

The forementioned problems are characteristic of all self-ideal self instruments. However, there are also problems which arise due to the particular measuring instrument which is chosen. Wylie (1974) mentioned one such problem with the PHCSCS. Half of the 80 items on the scale are keyed "yes," and half of them are keyed "no." Wylie stated that random responding would yield a low score of 40. To some extent,

then, unreliable scoring may be confounded with poor self-regard. In the present use of the PHCSCS, the possibility that some scores were randomly answered persists. However, response set will not yield low discrepancy scores: if a subject favors "yes" answers, he will do so in both administrations of the test.

Turkat (1978, p. 31) examined the role of defensiveness in self-report. He remarked that some subjects may report a high self-esteem "in order to defend against possible social derogation." To counteract the effects of defensiveness and social desirability, all subjects were informed that individual results would be kept confidential. In presenting the instructions, the researcher stressed the importance of honesty and truthfulness. However, honesty, defensiveness and desire for social desirability varies greatly among individuals. Willingness to acknowledge perceived negative traits can be vast. Individual differences on these traits may introduce variation in the accuracy of the self concept scores.

With these limitations in mind, this researcher administered the PHCSCS twice to both the children and the teachers at the Red Lake Reservation. One of the administrations called for self ratings from the students, and perceptions of an average student in their class from the teachers. The second administration required the students and teachers to rate an "ideal" student.

By comparing the self ratings of the students and the teachers, it should be possible to determine if the two groups differ in their perceptions of Red Lake students, as assessed by the PHCSCS.

By comparing the ideal self responses of the students and the teachers, it should be possible to assess whether the PHCSCS is sensitive

to any differences in values which may exist. If the students and the teachers do not describe an "ideal" student in the same way, it can be speculated that their different cultural backgrounds have contributed to this discrepancy.

By comparing the total number of self-ideal discrepancies, it should be possible to determine if the students and the teachers express the same degree of dissatisfaction towards the students.

In addition to these comparisons, this researcher was interested in relating other factors to the self-ideal discrepancy scores of the children. Two of these factors, the school attended and the community in which the student resides, have been previously discussed. A review of the literature pertaining to self concept measurement with children and with Indian groups has suggested the inclusion of these additional factors: academic achievement, sex, grade, age, percentage of life spent on the reservation, number of schools attended, percentage of attendance for the previous school year, and percentage of Indian blood. These factors will be explored, and expected outcomes will be predicted.

Self Concept and Academic Achievement

It is generally believed that academic achievement is clearly related to self-esteem (Rosenberg 1965). Purkey (1970), in an extensive review of the literature on self concept and academic achievement, stated that "Academic success or failure appears to be as deeply rooted in concepts of the self as it is in measured mental ability, if not deeper . . . the student's attitudes limit the level of his achievement in school" (p. 14).

Perhaps the most frequently cited piece of research in the area of academic achievement, the Coleman report (1966), included student self-reports on school interests, designed to assess attitudinal variables towards school achievement. These reports were correlated with academic achievement. Coleman (1966, p. 320) summarized his findings by stating that:

> whatever measure is chosen, the attitudinal variables have the strongest relation to achievement. It is, of course, reasonable that self-concept should be so closely related to achievement, since it represents the individual's estimate of his own ability. . . . The relation of self-concept to achievement is, from one perspective, merely the accuracy of his estimate of his scholastic skills, and is probably more a consequent than a cause of scholastic achievement.

Piers and Harris (1964) administered an early version of the PHCSCS, consisting of 40 items, to 204 third and sixth graders. They obtained significant correlations of .322 between achievement test scores and self concept for sixth graders and .188 for third graders. The name of the achievement test was not reported.

Caplin (1969) developed a self concept instrument by selecting 50 items describing the self from a study of descriptions of intermediate school students. Each item was ranked as positive or negative by employing intermediate school children as judges. Forty percent of the items related to feelings about school. Caplin obtained a correlation of .58 between the composite standard scores on the Iowa Test of Basic Skills (ITBS) and the school-related items. A correlation of .52 was found between the ITBS composite score and the self concept measure in its entirety.

Cole (1974) tested 100 third grade students who had been assessed as functioning within the normal range of intelligence (IQ scores between

96 and 103). Correlations were obtained between the Metropolitan Achievement Test's total reading, language, spelling, and mathematics scores, and the Children's Self-Concept Index. Significant relationships were found between all of the dependent variables and self-concept, except for spelling. Since the effects of IQ were controlled, this study indicates that self concept alone can affect school outcome.

In the preceding studies, children who had more positive self concepts, particularly as measured by school-related items, also had higher academic achievement. Purkey (1970) noted that academic achievement almost always correlates with self concept for boys, although this is not always the case for girls. For instance, Fein et al. (1975) administered a combination of items from the Piers-Harris and the Coopersmith scales to 307 children in the second through sixth grades. They discovered a significant positive correlation between self concept and reading achievement for boys, but not for girls.

In spite of the overwhelming evidence, not all studies have found self concept and academic achievement to be positively related, even for boys. Perkins and Shannon (1965) obtained self-ideal discrepancies on three measures administered to 78 white sixth grade boys. The measures employed were the Coopersmith, the Draw-A-Person Test, and the Multiple-Choice Pictorial Identification test. There was a significant positive relationship between the three measures. Metropolitan Achievement Test results correlated significantly with the "ideal self" scores of the boys, but not with either the "self" scores or the self-ideal discrepancies.

And at least one study indicates that self concept and achievement may be related differently for minority group children. Johnson

(1977) administered the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills and the Piers-Harris measure to 176 second through fifth grade Mexican-American migrants. The children were divided into four groups, based on their self concept scores. It was found that those in the highest self concept group also had the highest academic achievement scores. However, the difference between the academic achievement of the children in the other three self concept groups was not statistically significant. Since the scoring system of the Piers-Harris was used in this study, the results may simply reflect degree of acculturation. Those children who have the greatest degree of acculturation may do well in the white man's schools and on the white man's tests; the others may not differ.

With Indian students, definitions of academic achievement have taken two forms: grade point average (GPA) and achievement tests. Using GPA, Chadwick, Bahr and Strauss (1977) collected data from 147 secondary school Indian students in Seattle, Washington. The results of Rosenberg's self concept scale, when correlated with GPA, yielded insignificant correlations for males and females (.211 for males, .064 for females). In another study, Cress and O'Donnell (1975) administered the Coopersmith and the Thinking About Yourself inventories to 104 Oglala Sioux high school students. Teachers rated the students on the Behavior Rating Form. Correlations were computed between the scores on these measures and GPA. Only the teacher completed measure was significantly related to academic achievement. Since the teachers had filled out the only significant measure, and had also been responsible for giving the grades, it is not surprising that these two measures were related.

Due to teacher subjectivity, grade point average may not be as accurate an indication of achievement as standardized test results.

Using a standardized achievement test, Senior (1974) found a significant positive correlation between self concept and achievement. The Tennessee Self-Concept Scale and the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills served as the measuring instruments in this study, which assessed Pueblo Indian students attending a public school in New Mexico.

In the present study, scores on the Iowa Test of Basic Skills (ITBS) serve as the measure of academic achievement. Based upon the majority of the previous studies, a negative correlation between self-ideal discrepancy and achievement test scores could be expected for the Piers-Harris cluster, Intellectual and School Status. The results of comparisons between total scores, other clusters, and academic achievement is uncertain.

Self Concept and Sex

Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) reported that they had reviewed and interpreted over 2000 books and articles on sex differences. In the area of self concept, they stated that boys and girls display similar self-acceptance and self-confidence throughout childhood. They believed that the commonly held notion that girls have low self-esteem is a myth. They noted that there are sex differences in terms of reported self-confidence: girls report social competence, and boys report physical prowess. However, from their research compilation, they concluded that there were no significant differences overall.

Most of the previously cited studies tend to support Maccoby and Jacklin's conclusions. For instance, in the previously cited study by Caplin (1969), the self concept differences between 90 girls and 90 boys was not significant. In Fein et al.'s (1975) comparison of 307 second

through sixth grade boys and girls, sex differences in self concept revealed significance only for sixth graders. As measured by a combination of items from the Piers-Harris and the Coopersmith, sixth grade boys had significantly higher self concepts when compared to girls. And in Piers and Harris' (1964) study, sex and self concept were not significantly related for children from four third and four sixth grade classes.

Prawat (1976) also found insignificant differences between males and females on self-esteem. He administered the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory to 884 subjects ranging in age from 11 to 16.

The results of studies which have used self-ideal discrepancies have been conflicting. Jorgenson and Howell (1969) tested 164 females and 184 boys ranging in age from 8 to 12 with a semantic differential instrument, finding the boys were significantly more incongruent than the girls in self-ideal discrepancies. However, O'Connor (1978) tested 123 girls and 126 boys in the fourth through sixth grades with the Lipsitt Self-Concept Scale for Children, and noticed a trend for higher mean discrepancy scores for girls.

Indian studies have generally supported Maccoby and Jacklin's conclusion of insignificant sex differences in self concept. Cress and O'Donnell (1974) tested 61 male and 41 female Oglala Sioux high school students. Three behavioral and personality measures were utilized: the Coopersmith Behavior Rating Form, the Quay-Peterson Behavior Problem Checklist, and Bower's Thinking About Yourself forms. The first two tests were completed by the teachers, and the last test was completed by the students. A significant main effect for sex was found

only for the Behavior Rating form, with males rated as lower in self-esteem than females. However, since the Behavior Rating form was completed by the teachers, the generalizability of the results is questionable. It is uncertain whether the students would have rated themselves in a similar fashion.

In another study with Indians, Dreyer and Havighurst (1970) tested 998 males and 1,009 females with a "combined self" score using a 20-statement self-esteem inventory similar to the Coopersmith, and a semantic differential inventory. Among other groups, Chippewa, Menominee and Sioux Indians from Minnesota and Wisconsin were tested. For the students from these tribes, there was a significant drop in self-esteem between ages 8-11 and 12-24 for girls; however, a similar comparison made between the boys' scores at these age levels failed to reach the .05 level of significance. Comparing males against females, the 8-11 year old females showed significantly higher mean scores than the males. However, the males in the 12-14 year old group achieved statistically higher mean scores than did the females. Because four age levels were combined in this study, it is not certain where the changes in self concept are occurring. Moreover, the high drop-out rates commonly seen with Indian populations may have made age level comparisons inaccurate, since the older populations of Indian students may not be representative of all children in that age group. Nevertheless, the results of this study suggest that it may be important to look at different ages when comparing male and female self concepts.

The weight of the evidence seems to support Maccoby and Jacklin's hypothesis of no overall significant sex differences in self concept.

Furthermore, the PHCSCS reportedly yields insignficant total scale differences between males and females (Piers & Harris 1964). However, an analysis of the clusters revealed two sex differences: boys rated themselves significantly lower on Behavior, and also on Anxiety (Piers 1969). Therefore, it is predicted that sex will be related to the self-esteem scores on the Behavior and Anxiety subscales of the PHCSCS, but that a comparison of the overall scores of boys and girls will not achieve significance.

Self Concept and Grade, Age

O'Connor (1978) tested 252 fourth, fifth and sixth graders with the Lipsitt Self-Concept Scale for Children. Although the fourth and fifth grade students had similar discrepancy score means (9.98 and 9.02, respectively), the sixth graders averaged 11.7. Statistical analysis revealed that the mean for sixth graders was significantly different from the means for fourth and fifth graders.

A study by Jorgenson and Howell (1969) also found a decrease in self concept with increasing age. Using a semantic differential consisting of 20 pairs of bipolar adjectives, they tested 348 subjects who ranged in age from 8 to 12. Self-ideal discrepancy scores were significantly different by age.

Among Indians, self-esteem may also be lowered with increasing age. Dreyer and Havighurst (1970) compared the self-esteem scores of 8-11 year olds with those of 12-15 year olds. The Minnesota and Wisconsin Indians used in the study tended to drop in self-esteem; this drop was not statistically significant. Again, it should be noted

that the drop out rate of Indian students may affect the results of a cross-sectional study of this nature.

All information seems to indicate that between the third and sixth grades, and with increasing age, the students will show a decline in self concept. Although age is not always stable across grade level, it is expected that the variables of age and grade will operate in the same fashion in their general relationship to self concept. A positive relationship between these variables and self-ideal discrepancy is predicted.

Self Concept and Percentage of Life on the Reservation, Number of Schools Attended

Although many authors have mentioned the effects of cultural disruption on the American Indians, there have been few studies which have systematically assessed its effects. In one such study, Metcalf (1976) collected data from 23 Navaho women who had been born between 1940 and 1949. She divided the women into two groups based on the amount of cultural disruption they had experienced due to schooling. As one of her measures of cultural disruption, she used the number of schools which the Navaho women had attended. Metcalf then administered a 30-card sorting task designed to measure self concept, obtaining self-ideal discrepancy scores for each subject. Metcalf does not report significance levels. However, she stated that those respondents who were in the "High (cultural) discontinuity" group had significantly lower self-esteem scores than those in the "Low Discontinuity" group. Thus, number of schools attended and self-esteem appear to be inversely related in this study.

The Red Lake Reservation may be seen as preserving Indian mores. With one or two exceptions, all children who live on the reservation and attend its schools are Indian. However, many of the children have not lived on the reservation all of their lives, and so may have experienced the effects of cultural disruption. Two measures were taken in an attempt to assess the effects of cultural disruption on the self-esteem scores of the children. The first measure was an estimate by the child of the number of schools he had attended, excluding nursery and kindergarten school. The second measure was a percentage representing the number of years which had been spent on the reservation. Because both of these measures were based on self-report, they are of unknown reliability.

As Metcalf's study has suggested, the number of schools attended is expected to correlate negatively with self-esteem. It is also predicted that percentage of life on the reservation will positively correlate with self-esteem scores.

Self Concept and Percentage of Indian Blood

As previously noted, early studies erroneously attempted to demonstrate the Indian's native inferiority using percentage of Indian blood as a measure. Briefly, Hunter and Sommermier (1922) found a steady decrease in IQ scores with increasing degree of Indian blood. Telford (1932) reported a trend for lowered IQ scores with increasing Indian blood, although significance was not obtained.

Current research using percentage of Indian blood has attempted to relate bloodedness to achievement. The findings have usually

indicated that there is a significant negative correlation between the two measures, with full-blood Indians showing less academic achievement than those of mixed blood.

In one such study, Cress and O'Donnell (1974) compared the achievement scores of 45 full-blood and 59 mixed-blood high school students. Achievement scores were measured by grade point averages. They found that mixed-bloods showed higher academic achievement than full-floods. However, Cress and O'Donnell did not interpret their results as indicating that full-bloods are natively inferior to mixed-bloods. They felt that percentage of Indian blood was an accurate measure of degree of acculturation. In other words, full-bloods may be more "Indian" in orientation than mixed-bloods, and therefore do not achieve as well in the white man's schools.

A study by Bryde (1966) probably comes the closest to relating Indian bloodedness to self concept. Bryde employed the Minnesota Multiphasic Inventory with adolescent Oglala Sioux students at the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. He found a greater degree of Indian blood was associated with disruption and feelings of depression, rejection, and alienation. Wax, Wax and Dumont (1965), who explored and extensively interviewed the residents of the Pine Ridge Reservation, reported a discovery which may partially explain Bryde's findings. As revealed to them, full-bloods, who often look more "Indian" than those of mixed-bloods, face more discrimination on the job market and in the schools. It seems probable that their self-esteem might be lower than the self-esteem of mixed-bloods, as a result of these factors. Thus, percentage of Indian blood is expected to relate negatively to self-esteem.

Self Concept and Attendance

The last relationship which will be explored is that between self concept and a percentage representing school attendance for the previous school year. Although skipping school has been frequently noted as due to differential values between the students and the teachers, school attendance has not been systematically related to self-esteem. However, it seems probable, from a common sense viewpoint, that those who do not attend school regularly would score lower on the cluster, Intellectual and School Status, than those who have good attendance records. And if skipping school is due to differential values, percentage of attendance may also be related to other self-esteem clusters.

Statement of the Problem

It has been suggested by many researchers that the value systems of minority groups are markedly different from those of their teachers. Moreover, many of the standard tests used to assess personality characteristics may not be valid for a minority population.

The purpose of the present study is to explore the differential value systems of Indian students and their teachers, through the measurement of self concept. Both the Indian students and their teachers were administered the Piers-Harris Children's Self Concept Scale (PHCSCS). In an attempt to reduce the error introduced by employing the PHCSCS with a culturally different population, self-ideal discrepancy scores were utilized as the measures of self-esteem. The students answered the items as they perceived themselves, and as they would ideally like to be. The teachers rated an "average" and an "ideal" student.

The hypotheses for the present study are stated as follows:

1. There are differences between the ways the students perceive themselves and the ways in which the teachers perceive the students.
2. There are differences in the views of the teachers and the students on the qualities of an "ideal student."
3. There are differences in total self-ideal discrepancy scores for the teachers and the students.
4. Self-ideal discrepancy scores will be correlated with other variables in the following ways:
   a. Academic achievement will negatively relate to Scale 5, Intellectual and School Status
   b. Sex will not relate to Scale 7, Total. However boys will rate themselves as more discrepant on Scale 1, Behavior, and girls will report more discrepancy for Scale 4, Anxiety.
   c. Grade and age will positively relate to self-ideal discrepancy scores.
   f. Percentage of life on the reservation will negatively relate to self-ideal discrepancy.
   g. Number of schools attended will positively relate to self-ideal discrepancy.
   h. Percentage of Indian blood will positively relate to self-ideal discrepancy.
   i. Percentage of attendance will negatively relate to Scale 5, Intellectual and School Status.

5. There are school and community differences in the self-ideal discrepancy scores of the students.

Analysis of these hypotheses may be used to increase the white teacher's understanding of the Indian students.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Subjects

Upon receiving the permission of the Red Lake and Mission school boards of the Red Lake Indian Reservation, this researcher contacted the principals of the elementary schools and arranged group sessions for all children in grades three through six and their teachers.

In this manner, 251 children were obtained from the three different schools: 115 from Red Lake School, 80 from Mission School, and 56 from Ponemah School. Eighty-five percent of the total third through sixth grade school population was represented; those not present on the day of testing were dropped from the study.

Fifteen teachers from the three schools also served as subjects: seven from Red Lake, four from Mission, and four from Ponemah. Two teachers from Red Lake chose not to participate in the study.

Both the children and the teachers were given candy and gum as a token of appreciation upon conclusion of the data collection. Teachers were informed that they would receive information relating to the results of the study.

Instruments

Personal Data Form

A Personal Data Form was constructed to obtain each subject's

grade, age, sex, school, community, number of years spent on the reservation, and number of schools attended.

School Record Sheet

For each student, a school record sheet was devised to record percentage of Indian blood and a percentage representing days in attendance for the previous school year. The latter measure was computed by dividing the days that the student attended a Red Lake school by the number of days enrolled in the district. Students who had transferred into a Red Lake school during the previous school year received percentages based solely on Red Lake attendance. If the student had not attended a Red Lake school during the previous year, an attempt was made to contact the school he had attended, so that a percentage could be computed.

Piers-Harris Children's Self Concept Scale (PHCSCS)

The PHCSCS is a self-report instrument designed to measure self concept. It consists of 80 first-person declarative statements to which the subject responds "yes" or "no." Piers (1969) reported internal-consistency reliability estimates ranging from .78 to .93. Test-retest reliabilities ranged from .71 to .77. A factor analysis of the scale at the sixth grade level (Piers & Harris 1964) revealed six clusters: (1) Behavior (S1), (2) Intellectual and School Status (S2), (3) Physical Appearance and Attributes (S3), (4) Anxiety (S4), (5) Popularity (S5), and (6) Happiness and Satisfaction (S6). The stated factorial accounted for 42 percent of the variance. In the present study, scores on each of

these dimensions, as well as total scores (S7), were obtained for the teachers and the students in both the self and the ideal self conditions.

Iowa Test of Basic Skills (ITBS)

The ITBS is an academic achievement test used to assess basic skill development in five areas: reading, vocabulary, mathematics, work-study skills, and language. It is given twice a year in the Red Lake schools to children in the third through sixth grades. The scores for the second administration of the previous school year (Spring 1977) were recorded for the fourth, fifth, and sixth graders, as the most recent scores were not available. Five subtest scores, measuring each of the basic skills areas, as well as the overall achievement scores, were utilized. These scores were measured as grade equivalents.

Harris (1978) reported the split-half reliability of the ITBS to be between .50 and .94. He emphasized the fact that a heavy load is placed on the ability to read and understand terms. He stated that even in such areas as map reading, math problem solving and punctuation, the vocabulary may be unnecessarily difficult.

Pyrczak (1978) remarked that the ITBS is one of the most carefully constructed academic achievement tests based on a broad national sample, but he regretted the fact that there was no information on racial and ethnic representation in the sample.

Procedure

The researcher conducted two testing sessions at each of the three schools. All children from the third through sixth grades and their teachers met in the school cafeteria of their respective schools

in a morning and an afternoon session. In the morning session, the students and teachers were asked to fill out the Personal Data Form. They were requested to respond honestly throughout the examining sessions, and were assured that individual responses would not be revealed. The students were then instructed to respond to the statements of the PHCSCS as if they were describing themselves. The teachers responded as they thought the average student in their classroom would respond. All statements were read orally by the researcher.

In the afternoon session, the students and teachers were instructed to listen and answer the same statements as an ideal student would respond.

ITBS scores, attendance records from the previous school year, and percentage of Indian blood were obtained with the help of the school staff. The Red Lake Bureau of Indian Affairs helped to identify some individuals' percentage of Indian blood. Schools in Bemidji, Minneapolis, Red Lake Falls and East Grand Forks were also contacted in an attempt to locate missing information.

Statistical Analysis

The differences between the teachers' and the students' perceptions were assessed with the use of a statistic known as Hotelling's T^2 (Kurlinger & Pedhazur 1973). The Hotelling's T^2 is a multivariate analog of the student's t statistic. In other words, this statistic may be used when differences are sought between two groups, as measured by a set of variables. The Hotelling's T^2 assists in controlling for the correlations among the variables, and thus decreasing the probability of finding a chance significance.

Hotelling's T^2 analyses were performed between the teachers' and the students' perceptions of the students, and between the teachers' and the students' perceptions of an "ideal student." Each of the seven scales of the PHCSCS was tested, yielding a total of 14 comparisons. In addition, the distance scores of the teachers and the students were compared, by using each of the seven scales of the PHCSCS as one variable. Computation of distance scores will be discussed later.

In all, a total of 15 comparisons were made with the use of Hotelling's T^2. When significance was achieved for any of the 15 comparisons, the individual t tests comprising the Hotelling's T^2 for the significant comparison were examined. By doing this, the individual variables which were contributing the greatest amount to the difference were located.

As stated previously, distance scores were used to compare the responses of the teachers and the students. These distance scores measured the degree of congruency between each subject's perceptions of the students, and of an "ideal student." The statistic used to determine the degree of congruency is known as Cronbach's D (Nunnally 1967). A small distance between perceptions of the students and of an "ideal student" would reflect a congruent relationship. The greater the distance between the two measures, the more incongruent would be the relationship. Cronbach's D can be represented as follows:

$$D = \sqrt{\sum_{1=1}^{N} (X_1 - Y_1)^2}$$

D distance between concept
X (self or perceptions of "average" student) and concept
Y ("ideal student") over
N items

For the teachers, the distance scores reflected the degree to which each teacher feels the "average" student at Red Lake approximates an "ideal

student." The distance scores for the students reflected the degree to which each student feels he approximates his personal ideal.

The distance scores for the students are actually self-ideal self discrepancy scores. An additional set of analyses attempted to relate these discrepancies to selected variables. ITBS achievement test scores, sex, grade, age, percentage of life on the reservation, number of schools attended, percentage of attendance for the previous school year, and percentage of Indian blood were correlated with the students' self-ideal discrepancy scores.

Analysis of variance was used to determine if there were school and community differences in the students' self-ideal self discrepancy responses.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Demographic Information

Analysis of the data on the 15 teachers revealed that the average teacher age was 35.7, ranging from 23 to 58 years (SD = 11.1). The average number of years a teacher had taught at a Red Lake school was 4.2, ranging from one to 21 years (SD = 5.1). There were four male and eleven female teachers in the sample. There were four third grade teachers, four fourth grade teachers, three fifth grade teachers and four sixth grade teachers. Two female teachers from the fourth and fifth grades at Red Lake Elementary chose not to participate.

Of the 251 students used in the study, 131 were male and 120 were female. By grade, there were 70 third graders, 59 fourth graders, 62 fifth graders and 60 sixth graders. Additional demographic data on the students is presented in table 1, along with information summarizing the age-equivalent scores on the ITBS.

It should be noted that the ITBS scores which are listed in table 1 represent the scores of fourth, fifth and sixth graders at the end of the previous school year. Thus, the children were actually in the third, fourth, and fifth grades when the test was administered. Furthermore, among these grades, there were approximately an equal number of students represented: 58 third graders, 54 fourth graders, and 55 fifth graders took one or more subtest of the ITBS.

TABLE 1

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION AND ITBS SCORES, STUDENTS

Variable	N	Mean	SD	Minimum	Maximum
Age	251	10.1	1.3	7.0	13.0
Number of years on reservation	251	8.6	2.7	1.0	13.0
Number of schools attended	251	1.9	1.3	1.0	9.0
Percentage of Indian blood	249	75.4	22.7	0	100
Percentage of life on reservation	251	85.3	24.1	3.0	100
Percentage of attendance	245	92.9	6.3	69.0	100
Vocabulary ITBS	166	3.5	1.2	.7	6.7
Reading ITBS	166	3.8	1.2	1.2	6.3
Language ITBS	166	3.9	1.1	1.6	6.8
Work-Study ITBS	165	3.8	1.1	1.6	7.2
Math ITBS	167	3.9	1.0	1.6	7.0
Composite ITBS	164	3.8	1.0	1.8	6.6

Teachers' and Students' Perceptions of the Students' Self

Hotelling's T^2 analysis of the seven PHCSCS scales was used to determine if there were differences between the ways the students perceive themselves, and the ways in which the teachers perceive the students. As presented in table 2, significant results were obtained for Scale 3, Physical Appearance and Attributes ($F = 1.3$, $p < .05$), Scale 5, Intellectual and

School Status (F = 2.8, p <.001), and Scale 7, Total PHCSCS (F = 1.7, p <.001).

TABLE 2

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TEACHERS AND STUDENTS: PERCEPTIONS OF STUDENTS' SELF

PHCSCS Scales	F	df	P
1 - Behavior	.83	18, 247	
2 - Popularity	1.27	12, 253	
3 - Appearance	1.79	12, 253	<.05
4 - Anxiety	.96	12, 253	
5 - School	2.80	18, 247	<.0001
6 - Happiness	1.06	9,256	
7 - Total	1.72	80, 185	<.001

In order to discover which PHCSCS items were contributing the greatest amount to the differences between the students' and the teachers' perceptions, t tests on the individual items comprising the three significant scales were examined. Appendix A presents nine items which reached overall significance (p <.05), and indicates the response favored by the teachers and by the students. Unlike the teachers, the students tended to believe that they had attractive faces and eyes, were important members of their class, received positive approval from their peer group for their ideas, and were leaders in games and sports. The average student felt that he was an important member of his class, whose friends and classmates liked his ideas. He also felt that he had

difficulty remembering what he learned, and reported nervousness on being called upon during class.

Teachers' and Students' Perceptions of an "Ideal Student"

In order to assess the differences between the teachers' and the students' perceptions of an "ideal student," a Hotelling T^2 analysis was performed on each of the seven scales of the PHCSCS for the "ideal student" responses. As presented in table 3, significant results were obtained for Scale 2, Population ($F = 1.9$, $p < .05$).

TABLE 3

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TEACHERS AND STUDENTS: PERCEPTIONS OF AN "IDEAL STUDENT"

PHCSCS Scales	F	df	P
1 - Behavior	.69	18, 247	
2 - Popularity	1.90	12, 253	<.05
3 - Appearance	1.32	12, 253	
4 - Anxiety	.86	12, 253	
5 - School	1.04	18, 247	
6 - Happiness	1.01	9, 256	
7 - Total	.65	80, 185	

An analysis of Scale 2 revealed two significant items ($p < .05$). These are presented in appendix B, with the item response favored by the majority of the teachers and the students. Unlike the teachers, the students tended to feel that an "ideal student" should be popular with

boys. They also felt that an "ideal student" would be different from other people.

Teachers' and Students' Perceptions of Distance from the Ideal

Distance scores were computed for each subject between perceptions of the students and of an "ideal student," as has been previously explained. In order to determine if there were differences between the students and the teachers on the distance measures, a Hotelling's T^2 was computed. Each of the seven scales of the PHCSCS served as a variable. A combination of these seven variables reached statistical significance ($F = 2.59$, $p < .01$), revealing that the teachers reported more discrepancy than did the students. In other words, the teachers placed the students farther from an "ideal student."

In order to determine which of the PHCSCS scales were contributing the greatest amount to the differences between the students' and the teachers' perceptions, individual t tests for each of the seven variables were examined. In this process, the individual scale, Anxiety, was found to be significant ($t = 2.64$, $p < .05$). Once again, the teachers reported the students to be farther from the ideal (more anxious) than did the students.

Correlations Between Students' Self-Ideal Discrepancies and Selected Variables

The variables of academic achievement, sex, grade, age, percentage of life spent on the reservation, number of schools attended, percentage of attendance for the previous school year, and percentage of Indian blood were correlated with the self-ideal discrepancy scores of

the students. The students' distance scores on each of the PHCSCS scales were used as the measures of self-ideal discrepancy. Three of the previously stated variables, percentage of life spent on the reservation, number of schools attended, and percentage of attendance for the previous school year, were insignificantly related to the seven self-ideal discrepancy scores. Table 4 presents the significant relationships between self-ideal discrepancy and grade, age, sex, and percentage of Indian blood.

TABLE 4

SIGNIFICANT CORRELATIONS, SELF-IDEAL DISCREPANCIES AND GRADE, AGE, SEX, BLOODEDNESS

PHCSCS Scale	Grade	Age	Sex	Blood
1 - Behavior		.12*		
2 - Popularity				
3 - Appearance	.12*			
4 - Anxiety			.12*	.13*
5 - School	.26***	.25***		
6 - Happiness				.16**
7 - Total	.12*	.16**		

*p <.05

**p <.01

***p <.001

As revealed in table 4, Scale 2, Popularity, was not found to be significantly related to any of these variables. With increasing age, the students felt that their behavior was farther from the ideal. With

grade level, the students expressed more dissatisfaction with their physical appearances. Females and students with a higher degree of Indian blood reported more dissatisfaction on the PHCSCS scale, Anxiety. Grade and age increases were related to increasing self-ideal discrepancy on Scale 5, Intellectual and School Status. Percentage of Indian blood was positively related to self-ideal discrepancy on Scale 6, Happiness. Finally, with increasing grade and age, the students tended to report more total self-ideal discrepancy.

Six ITBS scales were also correlated with the self-ideal discrepancy scores of students in the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades. One of these scales, Language, was not significantly related to any of the discrepancy scores. Table 5 presents the significant relationships between self-ideal discrepancies and Vocabulary, Reading, Work-Study Skills, Mathematics, Language, and Total ITBS scores.

TABLE 5

SIGNIFICANT CORRELATIONS, SELF-IDEAL DISCREPANCIES AND ITBS SCORES

PHCSCS Scale	Vocab	Reading	W-S	Math	Total
1 - Behavior	-.15*	-.17*		-.17*	-.15*
2 - Popularity					
3 - Appearance					
4 - Anxiety					
5 - School			.22**	.19**	.15*
6 - Happiness					
7 - Total					

*p <.05

**p <.01

As shown in table 5, ITBS scores were significantly related to the PHCSCS scales Behavior and Intellectual and School Status. For the Behavior scale, those students who reported less self-ideal discrepancy tended to achieve higher scores on the ITBS Vocabulary, Reading, Math and Total scales. Those students who reported more discrepancy on the PHCSCS scale, Intellectual and School Attributes, tended to achieve higher in the ITBS areas of Work-Study, Math, and Total.

Analysis of Variance Between Students' Self-Ideal Discrepancies and School, Community

To determine if there were school differences in student self-ideal discrepancy scores, an analysis of variance was performed on each of the seven PHCSCS scales. An F test revealed statistical significance between the school attended on the self-ideal discrepancies of Scale 4, Anxiety, as is revealed in table 6.

TABLE 6

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE--SCHOOL DIFFERENCES IN PHCSCS ANXIETY DISCREPANCIES

Source	df	MS	F	P
Model	2	1.52	3.19	<.05
Error	248	.48		
Total	250			

In order to determine which school was contributing the greatest amount to the difference, self-ideal discrepancy means and standard deviations were examined. As presented in table 7, students from St. Mary's

Mission were found to have significantly lower self-ideal discrepancy scores on the Anxiety scale than those from Red Lake School or Ponemah School.

TABLE 7

NORMATIVE INFORMATION--SCHOOL DIFFERENCES IN PHCSCS ANXIETY DISCREPANCIES

School	N	Mean	SD
St. Mary's	80	1.48	.82
Red Lake	115	1.63	.32
Ponemah	56	1.78	.72

In order to determine if there were community differences in the students' self-ideal discrepancy scores, each of the seven PHCSCS distance scores was examined by community. Table 8 presents the results of the analysis of variance on Scale 6, Popularity. None of the other PHCSCS scales reached statistical significance.

TABLE 8

COMMUNITY DIFFERENCES IN PHCSCS POPULARITY DISCREPANCIES

Source	df	MS	F	P
Model	15	.63	2.02	<.01
Error	235	.31		
Total	250			

Normative information on the separate communities is presented in table 9. As shown in this table, students from the community of Redby reported the least average self-ideal discrepancy on the Popularity scale.

TABLE 9

NORMATIVE INFORMATION--COMMUNITY DIFFERENCES IN PHCSCS POPULARITY DISCREPANCIES

Community	N	Mean	SD
Redby	59	1.6	.67
Red Lake	104	1.8	.52
Ponemah	56	1.9	.49
Little Rock	32	1.9	.63

Correlations Between Teachers' Distance Scores and Selected Variables

In addition to the planned comparisons, this researcher was interested in determining the relationship between the teachers' distance scores and the teachers' sex, teaching grade level, age, and number of years spent teaching at a Red Lake school. Correlational analysis revealed that teaching grade level and age were not significantly related to the distance scores obtained from the teachers. Table 10 presents the significant correlations between teacher distance scores and the remaining variables.

Table 10 presents a negative relationship between teacher sex and the PHCSCS scales Behavior, Intellectual and School Status, and Total. Since males were represented by using the number 1 and females were represented by using the number 2, this finding suggests that male teachers find the students to be farther from an "ideal student" in these PHCSCS

areas. Table 10 also reveals that teachers who have taught more years on the reservation tend to see the students as farther from an "ideal student" on the PHCSCS scale, Popularity.

TABLE 10

SIGNIFICANT CORRELATIONS, TEACHER DISTANCE AND SEX, NUMBER OF YEARS ON RESERVATION

PHCSCS Scale	Sex	Years on Reservation
1 - Behavior	-.51*	
2 - Popularity		.57*
3 - Appearance		
4 - Anxiety		
5 - School	-.50*	
6 - Happiness		
7 - Total	-.58*	

*p <.05

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

Results of the current study supported many of the original hypotheses. Differences were discovered between the ways in which the students perceive themselves, and the ways in which the teachers perceive the students. "Ideal student" definitions and self-ideal discrepancy scores were different for the students and the teachers. And seven out of ten of the variables correlated with self-ideal discrepancies for the students in the predicted directions.

Analyzing the results of the differences in perceptions of the students, three of the seven scales of the PHCSCS reached significance: Physical Appearance and Attributes, Intellectual and School Status, and Total. In the area of physical appearance, the students tended to believe that they had attractive faces and eyes, were important members of their class, received positive approval from their peer group for their ideas, and were leaders in games and sports. If the keyed answers of the PHCSCS are used as a basis, the students' responses on these items would favor the interpretation of a positive self concept related to these items.

For intellectual and school status, the average student feels that he is an important member of his class, whose friends and classmates like his ideas. Again, these responses seem to indicate the average student feels he gets along with his peers. It also suggests

that teachers may have allowed or encouraged the student in his socialization and class adjustment.

Good and Brophy (1977) believe that the school has two primary tasks: to teach cognitive skills and to foster socialization. The forementioned self-perceptions of the students seem to indicate that the Red Lake schools have successfully permitted the students to experience peer approval, even though the average teacher may not be fully aware of this fact. The teachers probably are more aware of the students' disagreements and physical fights with each other. However, overall, the students appear to see themselves as having good relationships with their peers.

Academically, however, the average student feels he has difficulty remembering what he learns. He also reports nervousness when he is called upon in class. It can be hypothesized that the students' nervousness and reported forgetfulness may be related to fears of not meeting the expectations of the teacher, and/or fears of embarrassing themselves in front of their peer group.

Knowledge of the fact that students report nervousness on being asked to respond during class may help teachers to reinterpret many of the students' behavior in such situations. Additionally, teachers may wish to minimize nervousness by allowing more positive experiences in classroom responding.

It was previously hypothesized that "ideal self" responses might indicate significant differences in the value systems of the students and the teachers. Although the overall results provided little support for this conjecture, significant differences between the students and the teachers were found for items assessing

popularity. Most of the students felt that an "ideal student" would be popular with boys. The students and teachers also differed on whether an ideal student would be different from other people, with the teachers responding in the negative. Although there may be many explanations for the latter finding, it may be hypothesized that the Indians' high regard for individuality, as opposed to conformity, may have contributed to this difference.

A third major finding of the study was that, overall, the teachers perceived much greater distance between the students' self and an "ideal student" than did the students. This finding suggests that the teachers tend to think the students see themselves in a less favorable manner than the students actually see themselves. This may be a negative finding in terms of the self-fulfilling prophecy, a model which maintains that children are likely to fulfill the expectations of their teachers, whether or not the expectations are accurate (Good & Brophy, 1977). If the teachers expect the students to see themselves unfavorably, the students may eventually come to see themselves in that fashion.

There is also an indication that the teachers may think the average student feels much more anxiety than he actually reports. Student responses suggest that, overall, the anxiety that they experience is not significantly different from the anxiety which an "ideal student" would feel. One possible explanation for the teachers' attitude may be that the teachers are evaluating the students from their own perspective. In other words, the teachers may feel that they would be anxious if they were in the students' situation. One reason for this finding may be that the majority of the teachers are female, and females tend to report more anxiety. It can also be hypothesized that fears of living in another

cultural environment, due to lack of familiarity with that environment, may be contributing to the teachers' higher distance scores on the Anxiety scale.

An alternate hypothesis to explain the fact that the students reported less distance between "self" and "ideal" would maintain that the students were actually denying their problems, either consciously or unconsciously. As previously noted, self-report studies of this nature are not sophisticated enough to measure unconscious mechanisms. The honesty and truthfulness of the subjects may also introduce variability into the results.

However, it should also be recognized that both the students and the teachers set their own key for the PHCSCS distance scores, through their "ideal student" answers. The teachers' responses to the "ideal student" were almost identical. Most of the teachers' responses very nearly replicated the keyed responses to the PHCSCS, which were based on white populations. However, the students' responses to the "ideal student" were much more variable. The variability of the students' responses may have been partially due to the fact that they are not yet fully socialized, since they are children. In other words, they may not be completely aware of their society's expectations. Cultural differences may have also contributed to the discrepancy.

Ten variables were correlated with the self-ideal discrepancy scores of the students. Contrary to predictions, academic achievement scores on the ITBS were positively related to self-ideal discrepancy scores for the PHCSCS subscale, Intellectual and School Status. Work-study and Math subtests, as well as Total ITBS scores, were all

significantly related to self-esteem: those students who achieved higher in these areas also tended to have lower self-esteem. Since this result runs counter to previous research with both whites and Indians, it may appear to be unprecedented when viewed in isolation. However, it is important to examine the role of grade and age level in the finding.

In relating academic achievement to ITBS scores, all of the students in the fourth through sixth grades were combined. The students at Red Lake show decreased self-satisfaction with school-related items as they progress through the elementary school. Because the data was not examined within each grade, it is suggested that grade and age may have confounded the results obtained between academic achievement and self-esteem.

As previously stated, the students' perceived dissatisfaction with themselves in terms of intellectual and school attributes increases with age and grade. Even though there is evidence which supports the possibility that students continue to acquire academic skills, the children generally tend to show a decline in self-esteem as they progress through the elementary.

A decline in self-esteem has also been observed among white children as they progress through the elementary grades, and may simply reflect a normal stage of development in the maturational process. However, as Felker (1974) suggests, teachers can probably be influential in minimizing such a decline in self-esteem. In order to enhance self-esteem, Felker suggests that teachers model high self-esteem by verbally praising themselves. He also suggests that children be helped in evaluating themselves realistically, and that they be aided in formulating

realistic goals. Finally, he believes that students should be taught to praise themselves and to praise others. Although these general principles can be used by teachers at any grade level, it appears that they would be particularly beneficial with upper elementary students.

Another finding indicates that children who are dissatisfied with themselves on the PHCSCS Behavior subscale also achieve lower in the ITBS areas of Vocabulary, Reading, Math, and Total. Although a cause-and-effect relationship cannot be ascribed, it may be hypothesized that these students' concerns with their behavior may be interfering with their school progress. Many of the items on the Behavior subscale have to do with obedience to social rules at home and at school. Teachers may wish to explore such issues with their students by using values clarification exercises. These exercises allow students to explore issues of morality in a non-judgemental atmosphere. Through this process, students may show a decrease in guilt feelings and an increase in their ability to exercise intellectual skills in decision-making (Cohen, 1976).

As predicted, sex was not related to the PHCSCS Total self-ideal discrepancy scores of the students. And also as predicted, girls tended to report more self-ideal discrepancy on the PHCSCS subscale, Anxiety. However, contrary to expectations, girls and boys did not differ on the PhCSCS cluster, Behavior. Neither the boys nor the girls saw themselves as more discrepant in terms of their behavior.

As previously noted, grade and age were related to low total self-esteem. In addition, with increasing grade level, the students also showed more dissatisfaction with their personal appearance. Students in the upper grades are probably more concerned with making an

impression on members of the opposite sex than those in the lower grades. This hypothesis is supported by the students' responses that an "ideal student" would be popular with both boys and girls. Older students may be particularly interested in attaining knowledge relating to personal grooming.

Contrary to expectations, percentage of life spent on the reservation and number of schools attended were unrelated to self-esteem. These variables had been used as potential indicators of cultural disruption. However, they were based on self-report, and are of unknown validity and reliability. For this reason, it cannot be stated that there is no relationship between these variables and self-ideal discrepancy. It is suggested that future research focus on systematically assessing these variables through more objective measurement techniques.

As predicted, percentage of Indian blood was positively related to self-ideal discrepancy. Children who had a higher degree of Indian blood reported more self-dissatisfaction on the variables of Anxiety and Happiness and Satisfaction. However, Physical Appearance was not significantly related to percentage of Indian blood, as might be expected if appearing "Indian" were the perceived cause of lowered self-esteem. At the present time, it is uncertain why percentage of Indian blood should be related to lowered self-esteem. More research is needed in this area. Nevertheless, it is suggested that the relative absence of Indian teachers at Red Lake may be contributing to the students' lowered opinions of themselves. If the students had Indian teachers with whom they could identify, they might express a greater degree of positiveness toward themselves.

Contrary to expectations, percentage of attendance for the previous school year was unrelated to Intellectual and School Status, or to any

of the self-ideal discrepancies. The average percentage of attendance for a Red Lake student participating in the study was 92.9 percent, with a range of 69 percent to 100 percent. These figures suggest that, for the majority of these students, overall attendance may not be a major consideration. However, even for those who did not attend school regularly during the previous year, no decrease in self-esteem is reported.

As the studies of Kumar (1975), Metcalf (1976) and Pike (1975) suggested, there were school and community differences in self-esteem. The PHCSCS Anxiety subscale revealed differences by school when subjected to an analysis of variance. The students at St. Mary's Mission reported the least amount of dissatisfaction on this scale, and the students at Ponemah reported the greatest amount. Higher self-esteem among St. Mary's Mission school children on this subscale may be related to the size of the school, which is much smaller than the Red Lake Elementary. St. Mary's also tends to be more selective in coice of pupils. Both of these factors may combine to decrease the reported anxiety of the students.

Ponemah is the smallest of the three schools. If school size tends to decrease anxiety, Ponemah School should be the most successful in fostering decreased self-ideal discrepancy on the Anxiety scale. However, Ponemah's students also possess the greatest degree of Indian blood. It is believed that percentage of Indian blood, already shown to relate highly to self-ideal discrepancy on the Anxiety scale, may be accounting for a high degree of the obtained difference for Ponemah students.

Student discrepancy scores were also analyzed by community. In the area of Popularity, students from Redby were found to have the lowest self-ideal discrepancies. Most of the items on the Popularity scale are

directed towards assessing an individual's feelings about peer group interaction. Apparently, those students from Redby report the most positive feelings about their experiences. Whether these children have more opportunities for social interaction or whether other children tend to perceive them in a more positive fashion is not certain. Assessment of the peer group structure at Red Lake would be a fascinating area to explore, and might help to explain this obtained community difference.

Summarizing, in the present study, percentage of Indian blood and academic achievement were inversely related to self-esteem. In general, the significant correlations between other factors and self-esteem appear to be similar to those found with white students. For these elementary students between the third and sixth grades, low self-esteem was related to increasing age and increasing grade level. And as with white students, sex was generally unrelated to self-esteem.

The results of the analysis relating teacher distance scores to sex, grade level, age, and number of years teaching on the reservation reveal a few interesting findings. Unlike the students, upper elemementary teachers do not perceive students to be far from the ideal. And contrary to the findings of Krause, Ziegler and Havighurst (1970), which revealed more positive attitudes toward Indian students with increasing teacher age, distance scores were not significantly related to teacher age. However, male teachers tended to see the students as more discrepant in terms of their behavior, intellectual and school attributes, and total self-esteem. Of the four male teachers, one taught at the fourth grade level, two taught at the fifth grade level, and one taught at the sixth grade level. Therefore, it does not appear that this findarises from dealing only with upper elementary students.

Another interesting finding revealed that, with increasing number of years on the reservation, teachers felt that students were further from an "ideal student" in terms of popularity. Instead of perceiving the "average" student as maintaining positive peer relationships, increasing experience on the reservation was related to seeing the students as deficient in peer interactions. Only one scale of the PHCSCS, Popularity, was significantly related to number of teacher years on the reservation. Denial and distortion may be occurring on the part of less experienced teachers and students; however, it is not certain why only one scale should be affected by these factors. It seems more likely that teachers with more experience on the reservation have also experienced more problems with student peer group interactions, due to the increased number of daily interactions. It is believed that these teachers may benefit from being informed of the students' expressed feelings.

One factor which may have influenced the outcome of the present study is the fact that the researcher is white. Evvard (1966), in testing 58 Navaho children from the beginner's, first and second grade classes with the Bender-Gestalt, used two examiners: a white and a Navaho. One interesting finding was that the children who were tested by the Navaho tended to take more time. Evvard believed that these young children were already aware of differences between their culture and white culture, and may have geared their responses accordingly. In the present study, it is not known if there was an experimenter effect caused by the racial background of the researcher. Future research in the area of Indian values and self concept measurement should attempt to control for this possible confounding.

In conclusion, the present study attempted to take one step toward increasing communication between Red Lake students and their teachers through an exploration of values and self concept. It is believed that continued research in this area would be worthwhile.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

PHCSCS Item Analysis of Significant Scale - Self

PHCSCS Item Analysis of Significant Scales - Self

Scale 3 - Physical Appearance and Attributes (12 items)

Statement	students	teachers
I am an important member of my class	yes	no
I have pretty eyes	yes	no
My classmates in school think I have good ideas	yes	no
I have a pleasant face	yes	no
I am a leader in games and sports	yes	no

Scale 5 - Intellectual and School Status (18 items)

Statement	students	teachers
I get nervous when the teacher calls on me	yes	no
I am an important member of my class	yes	no
My friends like my ideas	yes	no
I forget what I learn	yes	no

Scale 7 - Total PHCSCS

Statement	students	teachers
Each of the previously listed statements		
I usually want my own way	yes	no

APPENDIX B

PHCSCS Item Analysis of Significant Scale - Ideal

PHCSCS Item Analysis of Significant Scale - Ideal

Scale 2 - Popularity (12 items)

Statement	students	teachers
If I were my "super self," I would be different from other people.	yes	no
A "super student" would be popular with boys	yes	no

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